614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are
171 called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
●769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

R

773 from van Suchtelen,[1] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[2] See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- ● 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
●769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 R Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
1 [i.e., Watu Roga.--Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopodo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
●769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

We.
778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely
minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are

614 [1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 778 342 173 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the [174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
●769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
●769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
●769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 Every-
251 where around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Marunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
●769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

Wae

614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were merely the oldest and cleverest ones there. They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red [301] necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One had á tattoo (relatively young fellow). One [769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at each generation the other chimed in with a chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing holding the head of the pig (as this ama has the Kottang function in this suku); the man from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama has the Kelen function in this suku); and the man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno wudjo, but there are no more in these groups who are still pagan, so they have to use old women. I can see the same thing on the schedule: in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are very young (e.g., three or four years old) as they are not yet Christians, but others are very old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making the best of it, but what can they do when the old women are dead? The answer is found in Leloba, where they no longer are able to have rites. They have given up the suku and ama rites, but still have the kampong agricultural ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in [769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are allowed to recite the names of the ancestors. They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

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178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
●769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
196 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

War The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how every-
124 thing here falls into a system. He has learned the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kanië, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
●769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

We.

789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

●769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamié?

346 797

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
●769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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198 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
●769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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Wo

592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 ●769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
● [769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 ●769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic
766 bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies,
●769 one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

273 Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
●769 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
778 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), They must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

582 In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
578 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
835 at least for one son. He might be forced brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
786 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 193 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone [167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 ● 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
● 769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
788 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [711] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 778 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 614 769 773 532 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms. It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 769 776 532 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed, the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And

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778 note that the removed Vatu Ine Amba was in the
● 769 gelarang Veol too. However, outside Rahong
776 there are plenty of regular cult stones which
[532] are not images. Where did these images come from? This is peculiar for Flores, and would bear checking profitably.

(3) The house of the tuan tanah, and to a lesser extent the main pillars and individual family naga shelves in each house.

(4) The lodok in the center of the gardens. When it is first placed there, it is made of wood, and only later is it replaced by a stone.

(5) Cemeteries, where the ghosts live. On each grave there are two stones, one at the head and one at the foot.

(6) Places in the woods which are known to be the abodes of spirits. The people go there to make offerings when they think illness has been caused therefrom. Some of these places have stones and others do not. They are known frequently without markers. As I remember, he said that in this area there were no such places, but I had better not mention this, because I am not sure.

(7) Locally, the bamboo grove where the ancestors of va'u Veol emerged from bamboo.

(8) The kampong spring. This is the usual thing, and here they hold ceremonies. Here there are nitu as well as ancestral ghosts (empo).

(9) The tree of Ndung. People may go there if they are afflicted by illness.

(10) The Bangka Veol ("former Veol"), the abandoned higher site, where the naga was not good. No rites are held there, and it is avoided.

(11) Pong Noang, a grove of trees. The name means "place of the dog bark noise." There were trees here once, but they have all been cut down now for gardens (showing the desperate need of

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]